/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

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Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
• 775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/70 cont./ This
869 is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
828 the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
097 Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Müller, 1919.

869 Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
184 among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

855 For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
775 aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
084 exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
775 already observed that the rebom is called "Tudjá," old one.
828 At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give
858 their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
775 Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
828 adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a rebom

2t Schaden--83 I-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Ikariri, where, as among the Mbyá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

2: Schaden--132 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend -- except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prise or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguêry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

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771 775 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earthly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 177 797 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable, that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

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771 177 797 manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils. Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the [775] [184] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Nandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní 181 797 177 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his liberty, which he prizes above all (2).

2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life: it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not received in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one) was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the deities do not always appear personally in the dream: sometimes they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahéi, which the individual receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses, in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
824 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the conception taking place either at the time of death or later, without need of sexual relations.

2: Schaden--140 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

775 774 842 [796] [787] [756] [776] without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsý (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

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5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

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of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a paradoxical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Stefánsson, 1951.

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Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like Poýdjú, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the ñanderú Fernando Tapari of Jacareí, who only recognizes the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the ñanderú Bastião of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another important function is strengthened, that of the continual communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

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2: Schaden--142 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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842 Among the Mbüá, as far as I have been able to uncover
•775 it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of
184 the Ñandéva, with only one important difference, that of not admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the village of Rio Branco expressed himself, "it is not in order to return any more: when one goes up, another one comes down." [776] It is God, Ñanderú, who sends the children: nevertheless, the female children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the father (6).

6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Concerning the theory of conception and the notion of the human soul among the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the study of the mythology, the religion and the social organization of the Mbüá. The work offers many new points of support for again taking up the comparative study of the subgroups of the tribe -- including a large part of the questions touched on in the present essay.

77 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José
842 Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of
184 djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a principle of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

/116 cont./
774 828 825 or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake; violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar (mando rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the ñeẽ or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./ "On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú, "I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguauíva, called Potá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyiguá of a sai. This is because once, when Potá was little, an old doctor-sorcereress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyigua" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 305). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

774 828 [775] Not only the ñeẽ or ayvú, which is given by Ñanderú and which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come already at birth," according to the words of the ñanderú Sebastião, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as germ (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./ Poýdjú, although he supports the theory of the

2: Schaden--147 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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774 828 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If [758] someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By [755] means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- 184 774 828 755 This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the [775] ground (anguéry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks nonsense." [755] João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

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774 828 755 early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" [756] [624] the bad prayer, the flanderú is helped by the yvyráídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the flanderú only gives the order to take the prayer away; then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- 774 828 The ayvú and the ayvúporãvẽ send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed; 774 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most 775 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into 828 anguêry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted, [825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, 775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguêry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguêry oguatá pytũmbyté

2: Schaden--149 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

795 oó dyvý yvýnarendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10),

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mberé-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [153] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm: it [161] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; [155] Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away: this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- 715 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive 828 at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would per- 177 haps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

2: Schaden--150 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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775 828 177 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors, has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the 774 178 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the [828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

[776] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected [780] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

2: Schaden--151 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/118 cont./

With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuê(porãvê) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguêry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Oñimangá djevý hó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952.

2: Schaden--153 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/119 cont./

774 828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñeẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñeẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

[761] The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 [755] Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

/120 cont./

• 775 heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a
[783] shade. Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbüá call mboguá (Francisco also uses the word anguêry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery; "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

774 828 From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbüá, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel,
[184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbüá (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Ñandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbüá of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations ob-
[184] tained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief of the Mbüá of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart,
[537] and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. According to the textual words of the informant: Txeé irundy ñeẽkuéry areko: peteĩn areko txepyáre, peteĩn areko txeakãre, mokõi areko okápe, oñẽgarekóva txerehé.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too desparate and incongruent for one to
[184] be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Ñandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the ñeẽ or ayvú, respectively ñeẽguẽ or ayvúkuẽ. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguêry

/121 cont./

774 828 [776] (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial beings or spirits ("flandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to 775 [776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yvaỹiemondehẽ, where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called kaĩnguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of [192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination fiemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." -- [776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of Ñandesy ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celes- [828] tial region called yrukitýtetã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no anguẽry.

782 796 ### 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The [533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of [534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djiroky), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies performed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky. Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi, which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers, an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal
[763] experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also
782 those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called oñeẽgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication.
[784] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large
[787] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or
[776] of the solar god Paí Kuaráry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not neces-
• 775 sarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of
773 death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

2: Schaden--176 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/135 cont./

764 178 184 [171] [756] [534] Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day immediately after the death, it falling to the ñanderú to plant the cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 177 178 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Peruíbe and Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsaá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact [775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 [764] [178] In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they abandoned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 177 178 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

/135 cont./

175 764 372 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over the grave is lighted -- Mbüá, Ñandéva, and Kayová -- a small fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage [114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning other Tupí-Guaraní (16).

16. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 167). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial; when it is the case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave [115] of the adults. Marçal, my principal and best informant, told me the Ñandéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether it was also valid for the Kayová: the ñeẽgué of the deceased, carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same informant told me that, for the Ñandéva, the deceased sometimes "manifests" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weeping, or some other way; it is because the ñeẽgué is in need of light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire [774] on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to this explanation, it is the ñeẽgué (originally only the sublime part of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does

/136 cont./

775 764 372 [774] not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth without rest, becoming transformed into an anguêry. A doctrine which obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it replaces the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian notion of reward and condemnation.

764 178 [769] [768] At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the objects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga /water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman -- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

768 764 The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguêry) of the dead person can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17). [775] [114]

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 775 428 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased

2: Schaden--179 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

768 775 [428] continue to be the property of his mboguá, which is the reason that nobody can inherit them. The mboguá would come to look for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 177 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in [171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the [775] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighbor- [171] ing Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

2: Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 177 [775] [171] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

764 [114]

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 178 [782]

764 775 [773] Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã eỹ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
1771 father of half a dozen mestizo children. He himself baptises the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are seen modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing: it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbüá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambí and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
[182] all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[578] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[775] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

2: Schaden--187 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
• 775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the anguéry, into which the atyýguá is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, represented by the ayvúkuê, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjê, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[183] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land Without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

2: Schaden--188 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/143 cont./
which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind, they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed to the boiling of the pot of the devil (añĩ). The devil catches the souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port. rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it. This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of añĩ. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by añĩ, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion, when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

/146 cont./

I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

• 775 *774 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to generically as *anguéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *anguéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were [768] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with [372] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá [764] (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. [171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been [609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[78] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 346 *175 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'é*, displayed

[78] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

/40 cont./

775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingud* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, refraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
842 •775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingud* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Unions with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 600

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unos grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese mas acomodado el alma aunque estas tinajas los enterraban hasta el cuello."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingud*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the *Caingud* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305).

The *Caingué* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful.

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347).

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia.

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Caingué* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã.

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who